

The Historical Background of The Ideology of Terrorism In Indonesia After September 11, 2001

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Abstract: The terrorist attack on September 11, 2001, became a turning point as well as a feedback in stipulating the emergence of other radical movements in many parts of the world. This on-going phenomenon can be regarded as global terrorism. Terrorism does not suddenly exist in Indonesia. There is a long history behind its existence. Tracing the history of the ideology is very important to minimize or avoid a bias judgment. Moreover, the term terrorism is usually used by certain groups to discredit particular religion even used as a commodity by advance country to judge the development country in order to create global secure.

Keyword: terrorism, fundamentalism, radicalism

Introduction

Terrorism is not new thing in Indonesia especially the action which is identical to it for example the bomb blasted in some places including public services. From 1984 (like; BCA, Glodok and Gajah Mada in Jakarta has dragged several figures of Petition 50) up to 2001, there were more than 21 bomb attacked several places in Indonesia.¹ *Imparsial*, the Indonesian human right observer foundation has recorded that since 11 November 1976 (terrorist bombing that occurred in Masjid Nurul Iman Padang was believed as an action done

¹ Wawan H Purwanto, *Terorisme Undercover; Memberantas Teroris hingga ke Akar-akarnya, Mungkinkah?* (Jakarta: CMB Press, 2007), p. 18

by the Jihad group), there were approximately 49 bombing action was occurred in certain places in Indonesia including The Bali bombing I.²

The large number of bombing incident in Indonesia that majority inhabited by Muslim is considered as terrorist country especially since the bomb attacked WTC in New York in 2001. This evidence is very interested to be studied because 11th September 2001 was recognized as the day of terrorist occurred in Indonesia. Therefore this article will discuss about the historical background of terrorism ideology in Indonesia

The Origin of Terrorisms in Indonesia

The terror in early 21 Centuries which has spread up to several countries was recognized as “Age of Terror” as stated in Strobo Talbot book *The Age of Terror; American and the World after September 11* (New York: Basic Book, 2001).³ Other popular terms are “Age of Radicalism, Age of Fundamentalism, and Age of Extremism”⁴ Indonesia is also a target of terrorist attack and the image of Islam in Indonesia is suddenly changed from humble into savage. The savage face is presented by some terror actors.

Some arguments of the Origin of Terrorist in Indonesia emerge. They are presented as below.

1. Socio-political conflict in Indonesia

Before 11 September 2001, Indonesia has often experienced a violence which is then known as terrorism. The strongest motive of the terrorism in Indonesia is socio-political conflict in Aceh. The conflict of religion solidarity motive where the targets are that house of worship and public services as occurred in Ambon and Poso. This conflict had separatist motive and economy-political interest of political elite.⁴ Robin Luckham says terrorism occur in Indonesia because the economy

² Tim Imparsial, The Indonesia Human Rights Monitor, *Implikasi Perang Melawan Terorisme terhadap Penegakan HAM di Indonesia (Laporan Monitoring Koalisi untuk Keselamatan Masyarakat Sipil 2002-2009)*, (Jakarta: Imparsial, 2009), p. 50-56

³ M Zaki Mubarak, *Genealogi Islam Radikal di Indonesia: Gerakan, Pemikiran dan Prospek Demokrasi*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2008), p. 2

⁴ Imparsial, *op.cit.*, p. 13

problem and political imbalance. Poverty has increase people anger that support terrorism.⁵

2. Global War Against Terrorist

The incident in 11 September 2001 was the starting point of the terror in Indonesia. According to Syafik Hasim, America and British succeeded to convince Indonesia and the world that terrorism is the problem that should be solved by the people around the world.⁶

The conviction of the terrorist presence in Indonesia was indicated by a large number of bombing. Before 11 September 2001, the terror in Indonesia is considered as a national security problem but then considered as terrorist attack which is supported by Al Qaeda after the bomb blasted in Bali and other public services.

3. Conspiracy

The theory of conspiracy occurs in society regarding to the terror act in Indonesia and other country. The conspiracy theory occurs to reveal the mystery, particularly to find out who the mastermind of the bombing terror is. Related to this, Riza Syahbudi,⁷ believes that bombing in Bali was the scenario of America through CIA and Israeli intelligent- Mossad. The reason, there were many strange things behind the bombing which indicated the involvement of global force. The actor was from local activists and sub-actor created by America; Umar Alfaruq who claimed to receive blessing from Abu Bakar Baasir for Bali bombing.⁸ The purposes of conspiracy theory were:

- a. To strengthen the belief that after 11 September 2001 Indonesia is the hive of terrorism.

⁵ Robin Luckham, *Democratic Strategies for Security in Transituion and Conflict*, (London & New York: Zed Books, 2003), p. 21

⁶ Syafiq Hasyim, "Lima Tahun Tragedi 11/9/2001", Kompas (Jakarta) Senin 11 September 2006, p. 4

⁷ Riza Sihbudi, *Terorisme dan Konspirasi Anti Islam dalam ZA Maulani dkk, op.cit.*, p. 63-64

⁸ See for a further information: Saifullah M. Sawi, "Terorisme Islam" di *Indonesia Merupakan Tuduhan dan Konspirasi Anti Islam Negara-negara Barat*, a seminary paper of the lecturers of the faculty of cultural and ethical Sciences of Imam Bonjol Islamic Institute of Padang, Wednesday, 21 Oktober 2009, p. 7-10

- b. To depress Indonesia government to stop Islamic movement who against America and Israel.
- c. To divide the unity of Indonesian into smaller countries so it is easier to control.
- d. Giving more pressure to support US invention to Iraq.⁹

Nurcholish Majid (Cak Nur) believes that domestic conspiracy in Bali bombing is designed by certain parties to create chaos. It seems that it is difficult to implement the conspiracy theory due to its complexities. But it needs to be considered. Another conspiracy theory was the involvement of Indonesia National Arm Force (TNI) and Al Qaeda- International terrorist network- that create clash between Western and Islam (Samuel).¹⁰

4. Global Jihad of Trans-National Islam

The aggression which done by United States, Britain and its allies to Afghanistan and Iraq after 11 September 2001 sparked the rise of retaliation carried out by the Islamic movements across the nation (transnational) with global Jihad claims. The radical groups gave a respond to this action which is not related to any countries.¹¹

The group was focused to oppose the government that has depressed Islam. The member of this group are from the countries where Muslim is a majority. They are recruited from Ahwan Al-Muslimin, Jamaah Salafi, Jamaah Tablik, and Islamiah.¹²

In Indonesia, this trans-national movement started from students who were graduated from a college in Middle East. Nowadays, the rganizations; Ikhwan Al-Muslimin, HTI was established in Middle East. Some Islam actors in Poso conflict and Ambon graduated from Middle East countries and have joined the jihad in Afghanistan.

⁹ Wawan H Purwanto, *op.cit.*, p. 20

¹⁰ Abdul Muis Naharong dan Herdi Sahrasad "Islam antara Fundamentalisme dan Multikulturalisme", Kompas (Jakarta), Friday, 02 Maret 2007 , p. 5

¹¹ ZA Maulani dkk, *op.cit.* p. 63

¹² Abdul Muis Naharong dan Herdi Sahrasad "Islam antara Fundamentalisme dan Multikulturalisme", Kompas (Jakarta), Friday, 02 Maret 2007, p. 5

Some writers like Al Chaidar, Jones, Nur Huda, Ismael Hamdan and Nasir Abbas agreed that the bombing in Indonesia is similar to the attack in Afghanistan and Mindanao in Philippines.¹³

Ideological Root of Terrorism in Indonesia

Recently, the word Islam is often associated with fundamentalism, militant, radical, terrorism, modernization, liberal and secular. These terms are used to discuss about modern Islam. The issues are considered as the challenge of modernization and secularism in Islam.¹⁴ Many terrors in Indonesia has raised a question about who is the mastermind of the terror, what is motive, where do the funding come from and what theory to reveal this action is. The common opinion to understand this is ideology. Some argue that religion lesson is the cause of terrorism. Other says terror occurs because of ideology. In Indonesia, the roots are different but seemingly, the cause is the teaching of Islam. It encourages the idea that terrorism is Islam in Indonesia.

Ideology or an understanding toward religion sometimes is related to terrorism that is also called Islam fundamentalism. This term, by the media, is strengthen as the pinpoint of terrorism ideology. The theme of Islamic studies has become the new term for Islam fundamentalism. A discussion about fundamentalism religion is stronger by the terror action in Indonesia by using verses in Islam holy book. It is no doubt that this ideology is related to rage.

Historically, the term fundamentalism comes from Cristian. It also relates to negativism but functioned as limitation to certain condition like 'evangelicals' movement that in relation to church politics.

According to Muhammad Imarah, fundamentalism become the movement of cristian people in the 20 th cenury. This movement has produced many organizations in America. One of the famous is the society of the holy scripture in 1902. This organization promotes the concept of fundamentalism or defense toward Injil interpretatation and critics toward injil contents. Moreover, in America, there is 'lembaga kristen'

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ PSIK-Indonesia, *Terorisme, Ideologi, dan Gerakan Transnasional di Indonesia*, <http://psik-indonesia.org/home.php?page=fullnews&id=191>, diakses 28 April 2010

fundamentalism International and 'Perhimpunan Fundamental Nasional' in 1919.¹⁵

According to John L Esposito, fundamentalism is not only related to society movement but a country can also be fundamental. For example, monarchy conservative in Saudi Arabia, socialist in Libya, Taliban in Afghanistan and Republic of Islam in Pakistan. In those countries fundamentalism has different understanding; Libya and Iran have concept anti west in the past, while Saudi Arabia and Pakistan become America ally.

Fundamentalism was started in 1960 and affected the life of Moslem people. It affects many people like Islam and its rules such as sholat and fasting. However, on the other hand, Islam also become ideology politics and social that create secularism, western capitalization and marxism which is considered failed to help moslem free from poverty. The government uses Islam also as the public mobility support.

In general, the term fundamentalism is global fenomena around the world and easily found in religion tradition.¹⁶ Furthermore, religion fundamentalism is as a sign for new wave of the fall of socialism ideology which is also Islam. Islam is considered as the threat for the world. Many western countries make campaign to make Islam as a symbol of terorism. This happens because fundamentalism Islam is always relate to 'Anti-west' and critical toward western people ways of life.¹⁷

In Islam, fundamentalism is translated as *al-Ushuliyyah al-Islamiyyah* (fundamentalisme Islam), *al salafiyah* (warisan leluhur), *al-Sahwah al Islamiyah* (kebangkitan Islam), *al-Ihya al Islami* (the raise of Islam), *al Badil al Islami* (alternatif Islam).

In general, fundamentalism can be interpreted as something priority, basic and needs. According to M. 'Âbid al-Jâbirî, the term Moslem Fundamentalist firstly rasied as the trigger of (*signifier*) for Salafiyyah Jamaluddin Al-Afghânî movement. This term occured because European

¹⁵ Martin Marty dan Scott Appleby dalam Bassam Tibbi, *Ancaman Fundamentalisme, Rajutan Islam Politik dan Kekacauan Dunia Baru* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2000), p. 3

¹⁶ For a detailed explanation, see: Muhammad Imarah, *Perang Terminologi Islam versus Barat*, (Jakarta: Robbani Press, 1998), p. 67-69

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23

language have the similarity with Salafiyyah. Anwar Abdul Malik chose this term to replace the term Salafiyyah Al-Afghânî, in his book *Mukhtarât min Al-Adab Al-Arabi Al-Mu'âshir* (1965: in France), purposively to let the world easily understand the term fundamentalism.¹⁸

According to Mohammed Arkoun, fundamentalism is not Islam but only socio-political phenomena. All facts like ideology and political state do not reflect Islam as religion and thinking tradition.¹⁹

According to Nader Saidi, the existence of Islam contemporar has relation to the failure of Islam liberalism in 19 and 20 century. Some characteristics of fundamentalism Islam are the following:

1. Repressive interpretation toward God verses , instead, offers absolute thinking.
2. The unity of religion and country; the source of teocracy.
3. Rejection toward any western symbol.
4. Interpretation about literal-scriptural and againsts rationalism history.
5. "not west-not east" concept in social, politics and economy aspects.
6. Pan-Islamisme. Moslem is unity and roled as Khalifah.²⁰

Fundamentalism Islam can be positive and negative. It is positive to people who love strong faith about truth. It is negative when people feel difficult to negotiate, show resistance toward other groups.

Meanwhile, the term radical fundamentalism by definition is a movement to change social life spontaneously by any means necessary.²¹ In other words, a spontaneous social change was done by using any efforts, even violent action. Al Zastrouw Ng translate the term radicalism prior to fundamentalism as the meaning of rage and fanatics in showing the ideology and thinking.²²

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5

¹⁹ Zainul Ma'arif, *Paradigma Kompleks sebagai Pisau Analisis*, <http://islamlib.com/id/index.php?page=article&id=74>, 28/11/2002, diakses 28 Mei 2008

²⁰ Mohammed Arkoun, *Membongkar Wacana Hegemonik dalam Islam dan Postmodernisme*, (Surabaya: Alfabeta, 1999), p. 209

²¹ M Zaki Mubarak, *op.cit.*, p. 19

²² Abu Ahmadi, *Kamus Lengkap Sosiologi*, (Solo: Aneka, 1991), p. 226

It means that the word radicalism has meaning a violent fanatics movement that prepared to againts enemy to defend Islam and their faith.

Fundamentalism Islam in Indonesia is totally different from Pakistan or other Middle Eastern countries. In Indonesia, Islam fundamentalist has strong relation to government and military. In other countries, they stay apart from it.

Fundamentalism in politics is long history in Indonesia. The history recorded some arguments in certain period of time in Indonesia. For example, in 1940-1960, the nationalist ideology from Sukarno-PNI and Masyumi on the other sides, movement Darul Islam/Tentara Islam in Indonesia (DI/TII) in 1950-1965, with purpose to build Islamic country (NII).²³

In Indonesia politics, the problem of radicalism which is in relation to fundamentalism has a support. But, sometimes, this organization has different purpose and has no pattern in movements. They just defend Islam syari'at, or to build Islam country and the raise of "Khilafah Islamiyah". The pattern is various, such as Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI) and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Lasykar Jihad, Front Pembela Islam (FPI) and Front Pemuda Islam Surakarta (FPIS).²⁴

The differences can be seen from whether it is local or International meovements. In relation to terorism, the Indonesian usually judge the fundamentalism in Indonesia has relation to the radicalism from other countries (Filipina, Malaysia and Singapore) or international (Timur Tengah).

Sometimes, the fundamental organization is related to the presents of Pesantren Al Mukmin Ngruki (Solo) and Al Islam (Lamongan) which is considered teaches radical fundamentalist.²⁵ In relation to *Ngruki Network* in Sidney Jones, a reseracher of Terorisme di *Internasional Crisis Group* (ICG):

²³ Al-Zastrouw Ng., *Gerakan Islam Simbolik, Politik Kepentingan FPI*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2006), p. 35

²⁴ Yusril Ihza Mahendra, *Modernisme dan Fundamentalisme dalam Politik Islam; Perbandingan Partai Masyumi (Indonesia) dan Partai Jam'at-i- Islâmi (Pakistan)*, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999), p. 49

²⁵ Endang Turmudi, *op.cit.*, p. 5

“What I see, Indonesian terrorism is characterized into interesting three categories: 1) has the direct inheritance genology with Darul Islam in west Barat and in west Sulawesi, 2) or they ever studied in Pesantren Al Mukmin Ngruki, 3) or have ever joined Ba’asyir network through discussion in Malaysia started in 1985 until 1999”.²⁶

Noticing the background of teror in church 2000, Filipina embassy in 2000, Bali bom in 2002, Hotel Marriot in 2003, Australia embbasy in 2004, Bali bomb in 2005, the government concluded that the actor of teror is fanatics and pesantren is assumed as the trigger to exrimist fundamentalism.²⁷

Islam fundamentalism in western countries is considered as terrorists who are ready to shock with terror like WTC 11 September 2001 even some actions like Bali bombing in Indonesia were done by Islam fundamentalist. In Indonesia, the group of Islam fundamentalist is Jama’ah Islamiyah (JI), which is according to CIA has network in southeast Asia-include in Indonesia- that hs purpose to build “Federasi Negara Islam Asia Tenggara”.²⁸ The main actor is assumed with this organization is Bakar Ba’asyir.

According to Maulani, Abu Bakar Ba’asyir is issued by CIA as the leader of JI. Abu Bakar Ba’asyir is accused as second JI after the death of Abdullah Sungkar, the first Amir JI (in 1999). Abdullah Sungkar is the former of Al Qaeda in southeast Asia. JI was established by Abdullah Sungkar after meeting Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan in 1985.²⁹ The name JI, at first showed the relation to terror on churches in christmas night in 2000.³⁰

Jama’ah Islamiyah (*al Jama’ah al Islamiyah*) according to Nasir Abas is the sub of jama’ah Darul Islam or known as NII, a group who continued the fight of Ismalic country in Indonesia,³¹ the origin is still unknown

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13

²⁷ ES Soepriyadi, *Ngruki dan Jaringan Terorisme: Melacak Jejak Abu Bakar BA’asyir dan Jaringanannya dari Ngruki sampai Bom Bali*, (Jakarta: Al-Mawardi Prima, 2003), p. 99

²⁸ Mukhijab, Titik Balik Perlawanan Teror, *Pikiran Rakyat* (Bandung), 26 Desember 2005

²⁹ ZA Maulani, *op.cit.*, p. 4

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 21

³¹ Lihat Tabel 1

although the forming of JI is in Januari 1993 in Towrkham Afghanistan. The purpose of JI is to build Islam country.

To achieve the purpose to build Islam country, or (*Daulah Islamiyah*), JI has some steps, first, Dakwah Islamiyah (seruan dan ajakan); second, Tarbiyah Islamiyah (pendidikan); third, Amar Ma'ruf, Nahi Munkar (teguran dan perbaikan); fourth, Hijrah and Jihad fi sabilillah.³²

The unity of JI as organization is wrecked when Amir JI is taken by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. Pro and cons occurs among the leaders of JI.

One of the dispute is the disagreement to choose Abu Bakar Ba'asyir as Amir JI. According to Nasir Abas, the conflict continues when Abu Bakar Ba'asyir was chosen as Amir Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia in 2000. Thus, some smaller organization occurred which is organized by Hambali who did the bombing in Indonesia.

Another fundamentalist organization that in relation to JI is Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI) owned by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir in Solo. MMI started from the former political comrad in New Era (Orde Baru), those who involved in Negara Islam Indonesia (NII).³³ Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir in 1985 moved to Malaysia to do Mujahidin congress in 5-7 Agust in 2000 in Yogyakarta.

The first congress of Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia raise the issue of Syari'at Islam Kaffah (wholistic Islam). The idea is "Islam adalah solusi bagi semua"; Islam is the solution fro all problem. This congress raised 5 agreements: first, a compulsary to do syari'at Islam for Moslem and the world; second, *reject all ideology which againts Islam that causing syirik and nifaq and human right*; third, *building the unity of strong shaf mujahidin either in the country or international*; fourth, Mujahidin Indonesia formed majelis Mujahidin to create Imamah (khilafah)/people leader, either in the country or International; fifth, *saying to all Moslem to draw dakwah and jihad around the worldfor the sake of Islam as rahmatan lil 'alamin*.³⁴

The two organization (JI dan MMI) showed the similarity; vision and

³² Nasir Abas, *Membongkar Jama'ah Islamiyah, Pengakuan Mantan Anggota JI*, (Jakarta: Grafindo, 2006), p. 92

³³ *bid.*, p. 101

³⁴ M Zaki Mubarak, *op.cit.*, p. 207

purpose, which is from NII activist, the bulding of syari'at Islam and the raise of Islam country (Daulah Islamiyah). However, these vision and purpose is 'undercover' by the name of terorist such as Imam Samudra, Dr. Azahari, Noordin M. Top. The names are related to Ngruki network (Alumni Pondok Pesantren Al Mukmin Ngruki) which is used as the control of pesantren.

Although terorism is assumed as fundamental radicalism, Added Dawisha in *The Arab Radicals* (1986) suggested to use the term "radical" and " radicalism" as the group of teror.³⁵ Terorism is only the instruments from the actors but radicalism is the essence from the policy. Radicalism is also include values, purpose and concern from the people who made the policies.

War toward terorism in Indonesia is aimed to fight the radical group in Indonesia. However, the relation within the radical group of Islam and the terror action made the government reject the radical ideology. The government conclude that terror in Indonesia come from this radical thinking. The minister of politics and human right Widodo AS in his conference of Poso with the house of representative officer in Jakarta, Thursday 12 Desember 2005 said that "why does the terror appear? This because of radicalism. People feel free to kill because of radicalism."³⁶

Conclusion

Based on the discussion, terrorism in Indonesia after the attack on 11 September 2001 has caused open debate and arguments. Some arguments of the cause of terrorism are as follow.

First: terror action is the result of socio-political conflict such as in Aceh, conflict based of religious solidarity, as well in Ambon and Poso. Some organization and people who involve in this conflict contribute to next terror with different scheme.

Second, in 11 September 2001 is the starting point of terror in Indonesia. Before 11 September 2001, action of terror was just a matter of national security although some actors are identified have strong

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 218-219

³⁶ Tamyis Sa'ad, "Yang Tersembunyi di Balik Radikalisme", a paper, 2005 (unpublished)

relation to International terrorists. Some terrors are attacked toward Western public facilities in Indonesia and have relation to Jama'ah Islamiyah (JI) whihc is captioned as the network of Al Qaeda in Southeast Asia.

Third; The conspiracy theory mentioned that the case of Bali bombing involve the scenario from America intelligent (AS) CIA and intelijen Israel Mossad to support war againts US invation to Iraq. The basis is there were some odd evidences behind Bali bombing which has relation to International power. Moreover, the actor of terror in Indonesia is US – made from Islam radicalist.

Fourth; Transnational Jihad Islam Movements, the attacked which was done by United States of America, Britain and its allies to Afghanistan and Irak after 11 September 2001 have raised the payback from the world Islamic organization. The violence from US attacked gets the revenge from Islamic organization

From these differences, to distinguish, usually to see whether it is local or International meovements. In realtion to terrorism, the Indonesian usually judge the fundamentalism in Indonesia has relation to abroad radicalism (Filipina, Malaysia and Singapore) or internasional (Middle East).

Meanwhile, from ideology perspectives, terror of suicide-bombing such as in church 2000, Filipina embassy in 2000, Bali bom in 2002, Hotel Marriot in 2003, Australia embbasy in 2004, Bali bomb in 2005, the government concluded that the actor of teror is fanatics and pesantren is assumed as the trigger to exrimist fundamentalism.

Fundamentalism Islam in western countries is considered as terrorists who are rady to shock with terror like WTC 11 September 2001. As well, some actions like Bali bombing in Indonesia were done by fundamentalist Islam

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